241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus
— the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each
bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
●[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special
secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead,
the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the
earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Aug/75]

[122 cont.]

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g. Tournaments

The tournament, watangan or sodoran and sĕnèan, belongs exclusively among the amusements of sovereigns and high personages and is performed on the alun-alun. For the sovereign, this festivity takes place on Saturdays; for the regent, it may be done only on Mondays, hence the name sĕnènan = something that happens on Monday, itsnain or sĕnèn. All the participants at a tournament are dressed in ceremonial attire, and the horses, too, are outfitted handsomely with the prabot watangan (2),

2. Note.

ceremonial harness, which is also used at wedding ceremonies. The combatants are armed with long, blunt lances, sodor or watang, and before the tilting begins they ride in pairs around the alun-alun a few times to the music of the gamelang. Then the two front riders leave the procession, execute [123] an about-face, and ride toward each other, with the intention of breaking each other's lances or of unseating the opponent. Then they go to the rear of the cavalcade (1). Now the second pair

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1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 585 ff.

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[522]

follows, and so on. Clowns also appear at the tournaments; seated on skinny horses and armed with tremendously long lances, they cross the alun-alun in all directions and actually nothing but burlesque the whole sĕnènan. A much appreciated joke at the end is tying life-sized, costumed dolls on unsaddled horses. Fireworks are tied under the tails and lighted, whereupon they gallop around terrified, and the dolls move about in the silliest postures. Actually it is a barbaric, silly joke. A popular sport for high personages is deer hunting, for which a number of deer are driven into an enclosed space and then

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M [123 cont.]
J hunted with saber, lances, or snares by the well-to-do. This
I 541 sport is also held in high esteem by the Dajak, the Makassarese,
224 and the Buginese (2).

2. Tijdschrift v. h. Binnenl. Bestuur, 1887, pp. 150 ff. Sal. Muller, Verhadelingen, etc., op. cit., p. 432, Pl. 55. Matthes, Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 110.

h. Tiger Fights

J On Java, any spectacle at which animals fight one another
541 is called adu-adu Ng., aběn-aběn Kr. Tiger fights are among the most important of them, and they, too, take place on the alun-alun of the royal residence, where a buffalo is made to fight a tiger. Before the fight begins, the buffalo stands in an enclosed space, while the tiger is confined in a cage at the side of the field. At a signal from the sovereign, the door of the cage is raised and the tiger is driven into the battle field where the buffalo, who has been released, awaits him. As a rule the battle begins immediately and usually ends with the defeat of the tiger. If the animals have no [124] desire to fight, they are incited to it by burning straw thrown at the tiger and an infusion of Spanish pepper showered on the buffalo.

Another kind of tiger fight is the rampog- or rampok-matjan. A circle of men three ranks deep stand at a distance in a circle around the caged tiger with their lances couched. The tiger is driven from his cage by setting it afire, and as he tries to gain his liberty by jumping over the lances, he is caught and killed on them.

In former days, criminals armed with a blunt kris fought tigers. If they were fortunate enough to slay them, they were considered not guilty and were set free.

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

M1 [125 cont.]
Bt the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandailing. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

Bl Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
541 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
541 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
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I [126 cont.]
544 Regulations the holding of cockfights is prohibited on penalty
673 of a fine of 16-25 guilders, with the alternative of 7-12 days compulsory labor. This does not alter the fact, however, that
MK cockfights are clandestinely held everywhere and on many oc-
544 casions. Naturally, this prohibition does not apply to those areas
673 where the sovereigns have self-government, such as in the states
634 of southern Celebes.

j. Quail Fights

I The quail is called gĕmak or puju; quail fights are known
544 as ngadu gĕmak. Only females are used for quail fights, be-
525 cause they are more beautiful, stronger, and more courageous than the males. The fights take place in a cage, pĕngadon, literally, "fighting place," which is five decimeters high and 7.5 decimeters long, with very thin bars. Both quails are put in the pĕngadon at the same time and immediately begin to fight furiously, both birds trying to hit or stab each other, especially around the eyes and ears. The fight lasts until one falls back. Here, too, betting is primary (1).

1. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

k. Cricket Fights

At cricket fights, ngadu-djangkrik only the males do the fighting. They are first tamed by letting them hang horizontally by means of a thread tied around their bodies for 24 hours and after that by holding them under water to make them unconscious. In this condition they are put in a small bamboo tube where they soon come to. The fights take place in a little basket, also called pĕngadon, which is divided into two parts by a sliding

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M 541 533 177 school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little drums- possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes. The playing was not bad.

C 485 133 Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus. Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost me f.3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

C 136

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not kno v
857 about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This w as too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
• [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
● 541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
517 reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
181 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

Makassar OG6
Sidang OG8

In the Mamasa area there are plenty of slaves and they are divided in inheritance along with the sawah, houses, etc. They "go with" the houses. S 507 428

He also says that in one region on the coast there have been three cases of slave man-commoner woman marriages in one year. Thus the old taboo seems to be weaker, but he admitted that this was on the coast. I told him about my idea concerning the taboo on marriages of higher women with lower men in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. And he says that the law of punishment by banishment for five years now (down from the former twenty, then ten years) is not written in the law, as the Dutch would never do that. It is in adat, and what happens is that such a case will be judged on the adat level and the exile decreed. The pair do not dare disobey and they also do not dare appeal the judgment to the Dutch type of higher court. They simply follow the decree and go away. They believe that if they did not do this they would be poisoned or "a tree would fall on them," etc. S 565 684 671 582 752

In Mamasa, he says, there is much trouble about the stealing of dogs. The folk there say that although dogs are cheap, the people will not have any in the after-life if they are stolen. The Controleur has decreed, therefore, that all dogs not tied up are fair game. Some have been taken and killed, and the folk are now very careful. S 685 231 775

The houses in the Mamasa area are big like those of the Dyak, housing perhaps as many as a hundred. Each family occupies a separate section, and these sections are arranged according to rank. S 342 592 565

He said that the incest taboo there [in Mamasa--Analyst] extends out to third degree cousins. (What does this mean?) S 835

Sumbawa: The Controleur from Mamasa said that I must ask van der Wolk about an island off Sumbawa where it is reported that there are no men, only women. They are supposed to go once a year to Sumbawa and steal men. They keep them on the island for two or three months and then let them go. Male children are kept for seven or eight years and then sent to Sumbawa. He says that the Controleur is fondled by the women when he visits there and that the Resident of Ambon, upon hearing this, ordered the controleur to stay there only a short time. This sounds amazing, and I must check it. What a story! 000

Watampone: In the last few days before leaving I saw a great commotion over the passing of the resident powers to the Hadat Tinggi in the person of the Ketua, the Arumpone. There were hundreds of guests, horse races, and pasar malam for six days. M 541 642

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554